DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 406 725 EA 028 269

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TITLE The Recentering of Leadership from the Jaws of Management Science.
PUB DATE Mar 97
NOTE 22p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Chicago, IL, March 24-28, 1997).
PUB TYPE Information Analyses (070) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Behaviorism; *Educational Administration; *Educational History; *Intellectual History; Interprofessional Relationship; *Leadership; *Management Development; Social History; Sociocultural Patterns; Theory Practice Relationship
IDENTIFIERS Positivism; Postmodernism

ABSTRACT

Management science, as it has been defined in behavioral-structural frames in educational administration, cannot encompass the realm of leadership. The frames themselves eliminate that which is most important, that is, the interaction/communication of the idiosyncratic and complex personal/character/interpersonal dimensions between leaders and followers, and these dynamic exchanges and reciprocities within a special context, culture, and historical period. This paper offers a schemata based on the works of J. Barber (1985), J. Burns (1978), and H. Gardner (1995) that may help to establish a counter-discourse about leadership in the field. (Contains 42 references.) (LMI)

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ED 406 725

DECONSTRUCTING THE TALK, RECONSTRUCTING THE WALK: MODERN PROMISES FOR TEACHING THEORY AND PRACTICE IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Division A Symposium #14.54

American Education Research Association
Chicago, Illinois

The Recentering of Leadership from the Jaws of Management Science

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March, 1997

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The Re-Centering of Leadership from the Jaws of Management Science

Fenwick W. English

This paper has four objectives:

1- to show how in the early establishment of departments of educational administration management came to dominate the concept of leadership;
2- to illustrate that the rise of departments of educational administration was an exercise in developing exclusivity around a single center anchored in the claim of legitimacy of positivistic science;
3- to point out concepts which appear promising to investigate in the re-examination of leadership such as the wearing of masks, the "coup d'oeil" or "inward eye," leader interiority and morality, and leadership as public performance. These notions were suppressed by the totalizing narrative of positivistic science in educational administration;
4- to propose a "counter-discourse," which blends the works of Burns, Barber and Gardner as a postmodern view of leadership.

Introduction

The names officially given to occupational roles usually follow the establishment of them. 1800 is a convenient year to establish the field of educational administration. (English, 1994, p. 103). Cuban (1988) located a reference to the title of superintendency in a Congressional document in 1804 (p.111). The first state superintendent of schools assumed his duties in 1813 in New York (Randall, 1844, p. 16). The earliest known texts concerning the operation of schools were published in 1842 (Potter and Emerson) and 1844 (Randall) respectively.

The context of school development must be considered along with socio-economic changes in America. Although there were factories prior to the late seventeenth century,the large scale factory system in the U.S. did not occur until Samuel Slater came with the details of the latest textile machinery in his head from England in 1790, and set up a steam driven mill in 1793. By 1812 there were twelve such modern systems in place (Van Doren and McHenry, 1984, p. 956).

When Eli Whitney invented the cotten gin in 1793, the nucleus of the American textile industry was developed, primarily in New England. Whitney followed his invention with the creation of the idea of interchangeable musket parts in 1800. One result was the modern mass-production assembly-line methods with interchangeable parts which was widely adopted by 1850 (Bailey,1956, p. 303).

The factory-system provided a magnetic metaphor in the minds of early school reformers. They saw order, precision and efficiency in the new mills (Cuban, 1988, p.8). When they examined schools they saw chaos (Messerli, 1972, p.284). There was no "system" at all. The factory showed what technical competence could bring to production. It was the miracle of organization that the new public schools required (see Berman, 1983). In 1881 Frederick Taylor began his experimenting in "task management" that eventually became "scientific management" (see Gross, 1964, p.38).

It was within these forces and ideas that educational administration was established in universities. When William Harold Payne wrote his book on school administration in 1875 (Culbertson, 1988, p. 3), there were no departments of educational administration at universities to embrace it, though separate courses began to evolve at Michigan and TC Columbia. By 1905 Teachers College awarded eight doctorates in educational administration (Culbertson, 1988, p. 8).

The professorial pioneers were infatuated with establishing a science for schools based on the gathering of factual data and quantitative analysis (Culbertson, 1988, pp. 8-9). This proclivity was given new impetus with the work of Frederick Taylor and the national publicity surrounding his work . The watchwords of scientific management were measurement (with attendant problems of definition and categorization), efficiency (cost-reduction), scientific salvation (Mann had earlier blended religion with reform in Massachusetts in which science became the secular altar of public worship), control (from the workers into the hands of trained experts hired by and loyal to top management), rationality (the necessity of work and other standards), quantitative and statistical analysis, and the strenuous search for the one right method to answer every problem (Campbell, Fleming, Newell and Bennion,1987, pp.19-42). These metaphors ebbed and flowed throughout the next decades of educational administration in different guises,

most recently in the work of W.E. Deming and total quality management (English, 1994, p. 212).

What is important about the development of educational administration was that its platform of legitimacy as a separate place within the newly emerging schools or colleges of education and in the larger university as a whole, was that school leaders were to be "scientifically prepared". (see Gross,1964, pp.33-72; Murphy, 1995, pp. 62-73). This claim enabled early proponents and professors to establish hegemony of the emerging field, centering it at the university as opposed to trade schools, and within schools/colleges of education as opposed to schools of theology or business at the university. A "totalizing narrative" was established in educational administration based on so-called objectivized forms of knowledge (Best and Kellner,1991, p.57) which cast it as "neutral" and apolitical (p.50).

The early pioneers were oblivious to the idea that:

> There can be no observations without an immense apparatus of preexisting theory. Before sense experiences become 'observations' we need a theoretical question, and what counts as a relevant observation depends upon a theoretical frame into which it is placed. Repeatable observations that do not fit into an existing frame have a way of disappearing from view and the experiments that produced them are not revisited (Lewontin, 1997, p.30).

The new narrative of positivistic science cast older notions of leadership into disrepute which involved such ideas as motive, character, and inner world view of the

leader. These ideas of "interiority" were not considered because they were anti-scientific, especially with the dominance of behaviorism and behavioral studies of school leaders.

The frame of behavioral studies contained an unexamined circularity because the relationship "between a mental state and behavior cannot be analyzed without mentioning other mental states. To analyze beliefs you have to have desires, and conversely, to analyze desires you have to have beliefs" (Searle,1997, p. 43).

In addition behaviorism has never been able to cope with the counter-intuitive idea encapsulated within it that mental states do not cause behavior they are the behavior (Searle, 1997, p. 43).

Postmodernism has attacked these suppressed circularities and contradictions in an effort to disperse the power-knowledge connection. As it does so, it exposes another story embedded in the current discourse in the field.

Beyond Histories and Metaphors: The Shadow Text within Educational Administration

The histories of the field talk to the evolution of ideas and metaphors (Callahan, 1962; Campbell, Fleming, Newell and Bennion, 1987; Culbertson, 1988; Eaton, 1990; Beck and Murphy, 1993), but they rarely deal with the sub-text of

acquiring and maintaining legitimacy of the speakers. This idea of legitimacy-control has been called "power-knowledge," and it locates in dynamic tension the concept that the establishment of knowledge is a partisan act of determining the right to speak. In the latter, power to speak is the authority to define the field. The establishment of a field is a staking out of the intellectual territory fit to study. It has been a contest of powerful personalities which continues to this day (see Schaefer,1990). The intellectual-cognitive-conceptual-metaphorical territories of a field are those which are most visible. Raymond Callahan's masterpiece The Cult of Efficiency (1962) remains the jewel of this tradition. The "shadow text" is the acquisition of the privilege to speak and with it the power to deny speaking privileges and legitimacy to competing voices or points of view.

"Power-knowledge" dumps the idea that a science is a neutral pursuit of facts or even theories. It locates science within the political-economic structures of the larger society. Power-knowledge sees science as a field of relations, and it sees those relations as competing for the ultimate prize of control and domination.

The founding of the field by professors of educational administration enabled them to exert hegemony over the enunciative modality (Foucault,1972, p. 50-1) by claiming that only scientific discourse could define the truth. The professors were the ones who had the expertise to determine

it, write about it, and hence control it. This activity is essentially one of exercising a form of political power through the construction of a knowledge base (see Scheurich 1995).

Educational administration's establishment, maintenance and enhancement of the boundaries of the discourse were purchased intellectually by wrenching the study of leadership away from the liberal arts and its portraits of leaders from Plutarch to Carlyle (English, 1996, October, pp.8-11), and grounding it in scientific management. This political maneuver severed any ties to older, more established ideas about leadership and the preparation of leaders. It debunked narratives embedded in history, theatre, and biography as "unscientific," and hence untrustworthy sources to become an educational leader (English, 1995, pp. 203-5) Foucault (1972) has called this act part of the field of memory in a total enunciative field (p. 58). The field of memory indicates to those working within it which statements or tenets are no longer accepted or discussed at all. In educational administration there are clearly marked trails in the literature of the field which illustrate the formulation, use, and abandonment of significant issues or perspectives which were elevated to the point of not being questioned at all. These have been labeled "metanarratives" (Cherryholmes, 1993, p.11) and their function is to pre-partition the enunciative field to correspond to fields of political interest.

The rise of postmodernism has questioned the entire array of pre-partitions as inadequate and self-serving (English, 1996, April,pp. 5-7). The resistance to re-examining the tenets of what has been claimed as "science" have not only been manifested along lines of debate regarding proper forms of inquiry (see Greenfield and Ribbins, 1993, pp. 26-52), but the unmentionable agenda is the legitimacy of those who have controlled the discourse of the field to continue in their positions of authority. Re-examining the linkage between science and those who claim to speak on its behalf portends re-opening the entire question of power and privilege which was fought and established in the formation of departments of educational administration at the turn of the century. Part of the rancor of this academic dispute can best be understood as a battle to retain control over its intellectual center, even if that means ignoring obvious contradictions which have been exposed in the de-construction of the knowledge base itself (see Littrell and Foster, 1995).

The Theoretical Cosmology of Educational Administration: The Pitfalls of Traditional Science

In order to try and differentiate between the metanarratives which run through educational administration and their inadequacies, I used the words theoretical cosmology which I defined as the **conceptual-contextual-cultural point of view** of a metanarrative or privileged story.

The strands of the fields' metanarratives have been scientific management, behaviorism, behavioral-structuralism, structuralism and critical theory (English, 1994, pp.112-124) The writers and researchers in these various metanarratives share a similar conceptual-contextural-cultural mindset.

The shifts within educational administration move from traits (now re-named habits) which is an atomistic or molecular view of leadership, to situational leadership in which generic situations trigger responses from the leader to a group, to organizational theory which strips people of personalities and gives us cultureless creatures called "actors" who wear sanitized masks sanctified in scientific lingo, to critical theory which focuses on impersonal, historic forces embedded in the socio-economic structure that shapes and directs human actions. From a critical theory perspective leaders are simply the accidental products of predictable conflicts between classes and these impersonal and inevitable forces throughout history.

All of these metanarratives embrace Western rationality, privileged forms of knowledge acquisition which are generically called "research," and which divide knowledge acquisition into distinct realms that are separate from the investigator who maintains an illusory "objective" stance in regard to his activity of discernment and exposition. The theoretical cosmology of the field remains firmly in this outlook, no matter what its latest derivative. The

embodiment of that cosmology is the "knowledge base" which forms the program content of educational administration (Clark and Clark, 1996, p.19). This resume of facts and practices are the "jaws of management science" which is the title of this paper and which echo Rost's (1991) admonition, "Leadership studies as an academic discipline needs to come out of the woodwork of management science in all of its guises (p. 182).

The fact that science as it is taught rarely has provided the insights ascribed to it was recently underscored by Stephen Jay Gould's(1996) review of Darwin's work. Gould noted that Darwin's most significant insight occurred not by deduction using the scientific method, but by analogy using metaphor (p.10).

The most significant works on leadership today are not occurring in traditional scientific tracts, but in renewed interest in biography and broader views of the topic (see Smith and Smith, 1994; Gardner, 1995, p. 16; Kridel, Bullough, Jr., and Shaker, 1996, p.3).

Management science has never been able to deal with leadership. The molecular nature of behavioral/structuralism eliminates the very essence of what makes leadership a viable concept, the interaction between character-culture-and context.

This point was underscored forcefully by S.L.A. Marshall (1966) when he wrote:

The chronicles of effective military leadership

> date back to Gideon and his band. Therefore any notion that it is impossible for an officer to make the best use of his men unless he is armed with all available research data and can talk the language of the philosopher and modern social scientist is little more than a twentieth-century conceit" (p. 253).

Promising Concepts to Re-Examine Leadership Within a Counter Discourse

For leadership studies to be restored to any kind of robustness, professors of educational administration will have to surrender the totalizing narratives of discourse that have dominated the field in the form of behaviorism and structuralism as manifestations of positivistic science. Linguistic binary opposites which precast data into frames defined by objective-subjective, research-non-research, fact-non-fact, truth and non-truth will have to be lifted to enable counter discourses to emerge. Interdisciplinary studies must replace the mythological de-contextualized, atomized notions of leadership that have explained little and predicted less in the research conducted on school administrators.

To improve the process of preparing leaders means establishing alternative views which are holistic rather than molecular (see Exhibit 1 that follows).

One of the most intriguing perspectives that promotes interdisciplinary work is the idea of leadership interiority. One manifestation of interiority has been called "character" by Presidential scholar James David Barber (1985) who notes that "Character comes from the Greek

word for engraving; in one sense it is what life has marked into a man's being"(p. 5).

Interiority is the way a leader enduringly relates himself/herself to life, within a culture, a situation, and an intellectual tradition. The culture and its linguistic forms create a metaphorical structure in which leaders and potential followers engage in discourse. From this holistic, interdisciplinary perspective, a leader engages in telling stories by manipulating symbols and competing for followers according to Gardner (1995, p. 9).

The process can be examined as a form of theatre, a social dramaturgy in which the symbols embodied in "words, literary allusions, gestures, bodily posture, clothing, name dropping, artifacts associated with oneself" (Starrett,1993, p. 120) are performed within a culture. The culture is a kind of rough script that involves both the leader and the followers. Culture also defines specific situations and what actions are appropriate in those situations (p. 121).

The interplay between leaders and followers is dynamic in this perspective. No better description of this interplay is provided by Fraser and Navarro (1980) in their description of the crowd psycho drama used by Eva and Juan Peron. Within the realm of crowd psychology a powerful illusion can be generated which sweeps over all participants, the leaders and the led, when one becomes the other (see English, 1997, p. 19).

No matter how organized the crowds became, they could

> relive the first 'sacred moment' of Peronism and its sequel, the creation of Peron and Evita. For Peron and Evita did not just act on their behalf, they became them" (p. 110)

Leaders and those who prepare them, should come to view leadership as an art form, a kind of social drama which involves commercial, political or technological ends, "is a human construct, made by humans to serve human purposes" (Starratt,1993, p.131).

I find interesting two concepts within the idea that leadership is social drama that offer a more integrative perspective than behavioral studies. The first is the concept of coup d'oeil or the "inward eye". This idea emanates from descriptions of great military leaders and means "the ability to sense what is possible and what is not within the vagaries of chance" (Roncolato, 1995, p. 37).

Descriptions of U.S. Grant as a general indicate that he had an "intuitive knowledge of topography" (Keegan, 1987, p. 213) and that he could see into the mentality of his opponents. Grant even entered the mind of Robert E. Lee and anticipated one move of his after another (Keegan, 1987, p. 214). This anticipatory ability is an example of the concept of a leader's "inner eye."

The second is the observation that leaders often present many different faces to different constituencies. This notion does not mean leaders are two-faced, but multi-faceted, a feature first described in a classic study of leadership, The Prince by Machiavelli. Machiavelli described

the need for the "rhetoric of imposture" by a leader (Machiavelli, 1950, p. 65). Even a great scientist such as Louis Pasteur embodied the use of rhetoric and disingenuousness as he pursued his laboratory work in which he downplayed the work of others on whose ideas he found useful in his own (Geison, 1995, p.89).

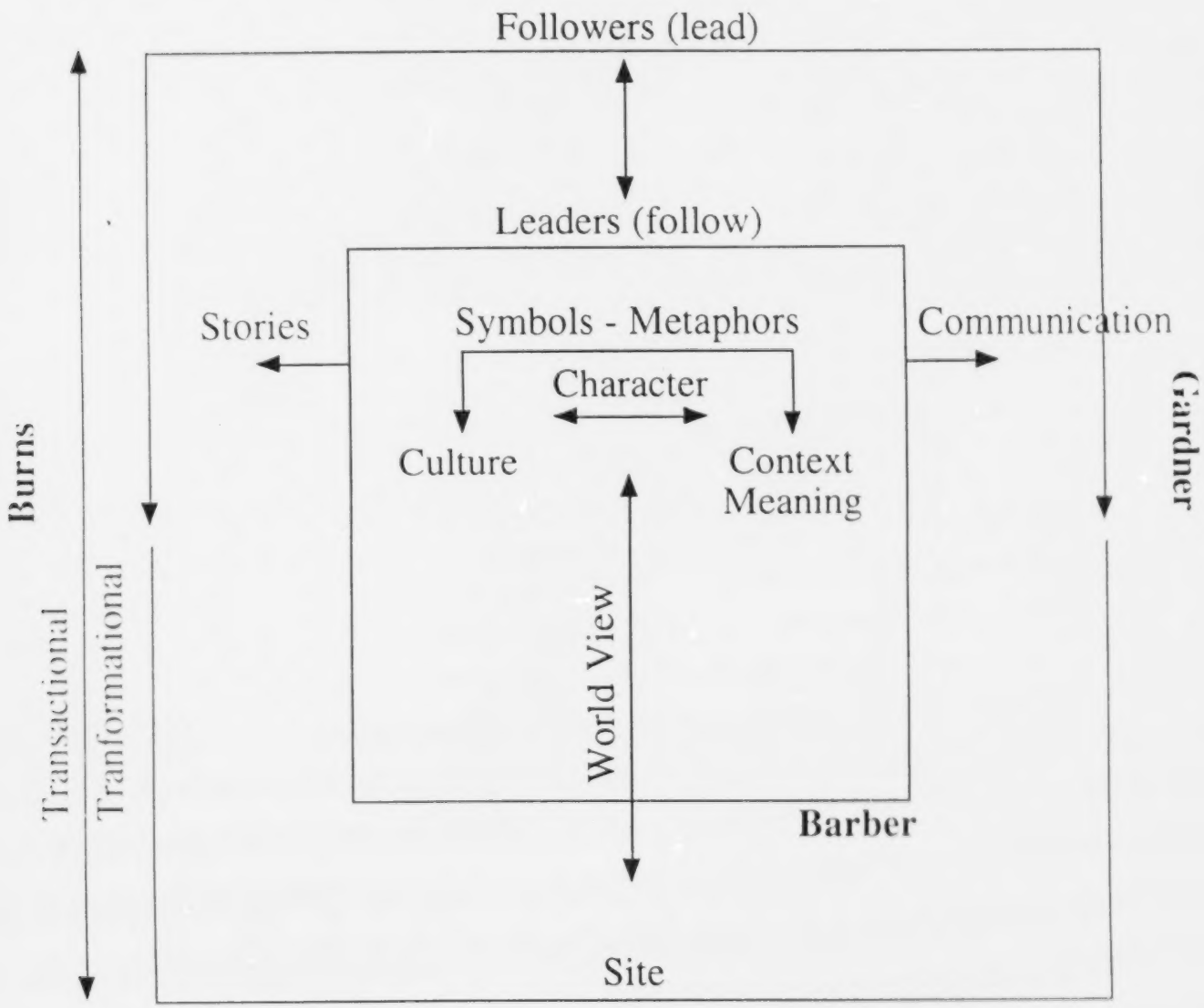
George Washington is credited by Brookhiser (1996) has possessing a superb sense of the theatrical. He designed his own uniforms to create a sensual impact because, "men responded to the spectacle" (p. 113). Benjamin Franklin was noted for his "deep reserve, his wearing of masks, his playing of roles" (Wood, 1996, p.47).

Summary

Management science, as it has been defined in behavioral-structural frames in educational administration, cannot encompass the realm of leadership. The frames themselves eliminate that which is most important, i.e. the interaction/communication of the idiosyncratic and complex personal/character/interpersonal dimensions between leaders and followers, and these dynamic exchanges and reciprocities within a special context, culture and historical period. A schemata has been proffered developed in the works of Barber (1985) Burns (1978) and Gardner (1995) which may help in the establishment of a counter-discourse about leadership in the field.

Exhibit 1

A Postmodern Holistic View of Leadership from the works of Barber, Burns, and Gardner



[note: schemata not to be used without permission of author. From AERA paper, "The Recentering of Leadership from the Jaws of Management Science," Fenwick W. English, March, 1997, Chicago, Illinois]

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